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the Phœnician inscription of Procopius. Just as in the latter Joshua is designated *λῃστής*, robber, so also is Phineas, the leader of the war against Midian, in which Balaam was slain (*vide* Num. xxxi. 8; Joshua xiii. 22) given the same title in the former. The source, whence the information about the death of Balaam is taken, is called by the heretic *בִּינְקִסְיָה דְּבַלְעָם*. This must have been a work upon Balaam with apocryphal additions to the Biblical narrative, and of an anti-Israelite tone, perhaps a production of the Gnostics, who were fond of distorting figures of the Old Testament, and glorifying just those very persons who are described in the holy writings of the Jews as being godless. The light that the analogy of the phrase *Ἰησοῦς ὁ λῃστής* casts upon the *פְּנֵהָם לִיטְטָה* of the Talmud renders the conjecture of Perles (*Grätz, Monatschrift*, 1872, p. 267), that we have to read *פְּנֵהָם פְּלִיטְטָה*, which refers to Pontius Pilate, quite unnecessary.

In conclusion, attention must be called to a passage in Josephus "Against Apion," where among the reasons that he gives why the Jews for so long a time remained unknown to the Greeks, he brings forward this, that the forefathers of the Jews did not, as the Greeks did, become sea-robbers, nor did they engage in wars for the sole purpose of gaining more wealth (*Contra Apionem*, I. xii. 4). For piracy he employs the term that indicates robbery in general, *λῃστεία*, in the use of which he could hardly have had in mind any charges that had been hitherto levelled against the Jews that they were a "nation of robbers." The remark of Josephus just quoted is not so much apologetic as aggressive, upbraiding the Greeks, whose ancient history was sullied by piracy. It was only after the time of Josephus that it was sought to prove from their own historical sources that the Jews were a "nation of robbers," and from this antagonistic conception of the ancient history of Israel there also originated the inscription spoken of by Procopius which is ascribed to the Phœnician fugitives. It must be remembered that this historian came from Cæsarea, where hostility to the Jews was an old tradition among the inhabitants. This pseudo-inscription that is to be found in his works may at any rate be regarded as another ancient memorial of anti-Jewish feeling that strove to falsify history.

W. BACHER.

II.

THE CHURCH FATHER, ORIGEN, AND RABBI HOSHAYA.

In his essay on Hillel, the Patriarch's son, Graetz has hazarded the conjecture that the Jewish sage, from whom Origen, a resident of

Cæsarea, learnt the Mosaic origin of Psalms xc. to c., was his fellow-townsmen, R. Hoshaya, a pupil of the patriarch Jehuda I., and one of the compilers of the *Tosefta*. (See *Monatsschrift*, xxx., 1881, p. 443.) This suggestion assumes a high degree of probability when we consider some of Hoshaya's utterances.

First, note a dialogue on circumcision which R. Hoshaya held with a philosopher. The latter asked: If the rite possessed such virtue, why did not God create the first man circumcised? The Rabbi replies that man, equally with all things created on the first six days, needs improving and perfecting; and circumcision conduces to perfection. Philosopher, here and elsewhere (compare *Sabbath*, 116 a), means a representative of Christianity.¹

When it was considered that Origen, in his Scriptural exposition, so strenuously opposed the literal conception of Biblical precepts, and regarded circumcision especially as one of the impossibilities of the Old Testament, compelling one to allegorise,² we may well assume that he had a controversy about this rite with the most prominent representative of Judaism in Cæsarea. The question and reply, above quoted, may, therefore, be accepted as authentic.³ The answer, indeed, looks like a satire on Origen—assuming him to have been the catechist. That Church father had submitted himself to an operation akin to circumcision, which, he thought, would further his progress in spirituality, but which the Jewish sages regarded differently.

If, again, the philosopher of our dialogue was Origen,⁴ as seems probable, light is thrown on the origin of one of the best-known sayings of Hoshaya, which opens the *Midrash* on Genesis, and in consequence of which it has been ascribed to him. (*Gen. rab. c. i.*, beginning.)

Hoshaya introduces his exposition of the story of the Creation

¹ *Genesis rabba c. 11. ad finem*. In *Pesikta*, c. 23 (116b ed. Friedmann), the name *הושעיא* is erroneously omitted after *רבי*.

² See Diestel, *Geschichte des alten Testaments in der Christlichen Kirche*, p. 37.

³ The question and answer is found, somewhat varied, in the dialogue between R. Akiba and T. Rufus. *Tanchuma תנחומי* at the beginning. See my *Agada der Tanaiten I.*, 299 seq.

⁴ Bar-Kappara, Hoshaya's teacher, who also taught at Cæsarea, had a question put to him by a philosopher, which was intended to show the absurdity of a legal enactment in connection with the observance of the Sabbath (*Mishna Sabbath*, III. 4). Possibly, Origen is here meant. If so, Bar-Kappara's answer to the Church Father is a sharp repartee. It begins with the counter question, whether a husband would be displeased at seeing his wife in a eunuch's arms.

with the interpretation of Proverbs viii. 30.¹ He interprets the word אֱמֹן in the sense of אֱמֹן architect. As a king employs an architect to draw plans of the palace he proposes to build, so God created the world with the aid of the Torah ראשית (Gen. i. 1 ; Prov. viii. 22). This figure, in which the Torah is represented, on the one hand, as the expression of divine wisdom, the personification of the divine creative faculty, as God's mason, and, on the other, as the architectural design of the universe, as the type of creation, recalls unmistakably (1) Philo's ideal world, the archetype of the visible world, and (2) his simile of the king who employs an architect to draw plans of the city which he is about to build. Even the phrase כִּן הַקִּבֵּה בתורה has its analogy in Philo's phrase ἀποβλέπων εἰς τὸ παράδειγμα and in the application to God ἐνόησε πρότερον τοὺς τύπους αὐτῆς. Is it not possible that Hoshaya, if he did not read Philo's writings, at least learnt some of his ideas from Origen, the most important champion of that philosopher's allegorical tendency.² The figure of the architect who is familiar with the most secret recesses of the city planned by himself, Hoshaya also employs in his gloss on Isaiah xxix. 15, etc., "God, who created man, knoweth all his secrets" (*Gen. R. c. xxiv. beginning*).

The following conceit of Hoshaya (*Gen. R. c. viii. ad finem* Kohelet vi. 10) is apparently an allusion to the Christian dogma of the Incarnation. When God created the first man in his image, the angels wished to sing the hymn "Holy ! Holy ! Holy !" in his honour. The Almighty caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and then all knew that he was mortal. What is this allegory, also illustrated by the simile of a king and his representative, but a protest against that dogma of Christianity which deifies a Man ?

Origen makes a liberal use of allegory to nullify the binding authority of the Law. Hoshaya, in contrast to this tendency, emphasises the teaching that, at the millennium, the Noachides, *i.e.*, all Gentiles, would, according to Zechariah (iii. 9), practise all the precepts of Judaism (*Talm. Jer. Aboda Zara, 40 c*).

Two sentences of Hoshaya, one of them of an apologetic character, show an acquaintance with the libel, first invented by Manetho, and so often repeated since, that the Jews are descended from lepers driven out of Egypt.³

¹ In *Yalkut*, on Proverbs viii, במעשה ר' אושעיא רבא כד הוי דריש בראשית פתח ; in *Gen.*, בראשית רבא פתח

² Freudenthal has already pointed out the analogy between Philo's ideas and those expressed at the commencement of *Genesis rabba*, without however questioning Hoshaya's claim to originality in regard to them.

³ *Pesikta*, 826. *Schir Haschirim rabba* on iv. 12, where the name פינחס

Though, therefore, it is not absolutely certain that the anonymous Jewish sage, whom Origen questioned concerning the Mosaic origin of the Psalms, was Hoshaya, as it might also have been Joshua ben Levi, from whom we also have an utterance concerning these Psalms (Shocheh Tob. Ps. xc. 1), and who used occasionally to visit Cæsarea; still, after the arguments here adduced, it is highly probable that personal intercourse took place between Hoshaya and Origen, the foremost representatives of Judaism and Christianity in Cæsarea.

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III.

CONFESSION OF FAITH OF THE ALMOHADES.

Professor Goldziher, of Vienna, has published, in a recent number¹ of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, a short confession of faith composed for the Almohades, or Unitarians, by Muhammed Ibn Tumart, of Magreb, the founder of the sect. In an earlier article² Prof. Goldziher published and translated the Tauhid formula, the Unitarian confession, characterising it "als Ausgangspunkt und gewissermassen Symbol einer der merkwürdigsten Bewegungen im magribinischen Islam immer werth, dem Wortlaute nach bekannt und bewahrt zu werden." Reference was made in the former article to a so-called "Murshida," but Prof. Goldziher could not state what was its exact nature.³ He is now enabled to publish the Arabic text which exists among the Arabic MSS. in the Royal Library at Berlin. I am very glad, indeed, to give an English translation of the text. The confession is interesting from many points of view. It is interesting to the philosopher of religion as proving that, while strict Monotheism is necessarily spiritual, there is

should be supplemented as follows בִּשְׁם ר' הוֹשַׁעִיָּא. The saying springs out of a similar dictum by Joshua ben Levi, in which the charge takes the following form: לְפִי שֶׁהָיוּ אִוֻּמוֹת הָעוֹלָם מוֹנִין לְיִשְׂרָאֵל וְאוֹמְרִין שֶׁהֵם בְּנֵיהֶם שֶׁל מִצְרַיִם. About the term מוֹנִין, see above. The charge that the Jewish women in Egypt were faithless wives and cohabited with Egyptians, was providentially confuted. All the Jews born in Egypt showed unmistakably in their features that they were of pure Hebrew descent. See also *Levit. rabba* c. 18 *ad finem*. The lepers mentioned in Num. v. 2 were, according to the *Midrash*, so punished because they slandered Jewish families, asserting that they were descended from lepers.

¹ Vol. XLIV., page 168. ² Vol. XLI., page 72. ³ *Ad loc. cit.*, page 79.